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## IN THE SENATE.

### DEBATE ON MR. BENTON'S RESOLU-

TIONS

Wednesday, February 3.

Mr. MANGUM rose, and said that, until very recently, it had not been his purpose to participate in this debate. Indeed, the resolutions immediately under consideration admitted of but little discussion and slight diversity of opinion.

The first resolution, in its original form, was novel, bold, and decided, and, in his opinion, eminently inexpedient. It bore the impress of its paternity. As it is now modified by the suggestion of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy), it embodies one of that gentleman's felicitous conceptions, imposing nothing definite, presenting nothing tangible, disarming resistance, because it disarms itself. It is a smooth jingle of words, awaking no precise idea, indicating no defined practical views, and sinking entirely out of sight those bold and novel features that characterized its original form. It now presents one of those comfortable positions on which either wary or scrupulous gentlemen may stand well screened from responsibility, and say "ay" or "no" with equal impunity. It is now like nothing but itself, unless it may be likened to the Senator from Tennessee, so far as it affirms that things "ought not to stand exactly as they are." When we shall come to divide upon it, if we shall vote upon it at all in its present form, gentlemen will find it difficult, having regard to its merits, to discover any motive for its support, or to suggest any precise and decisive reason wherefore it should be rejected. Unimportant as are these resolutions in themselves, they have been made the occasion of discussing much higher and graver matter. Gentlemen had taken a wide and discursive range, and touched every topic that could supply materials for taunt, crimination, and injurious comment.

The Senate had been assailed for refusing the supply of the three millions on the last night of the last session. Our foreign relations, and especially the French war, had been elaborately discussed, and the surplus revenue had been assailed with a vigor proportioned to the magnitude of the prize. In truth, thirty millions of surplus revenue, and the future surpluses accruing from year to year, are a great prize. To retain the surplus, and an unchecked control of it, is to retain power in the hands of the present holders, and to wield it with an unresisted and irresistible dominion, in defiance of constitutional right, in scorn of ancient usages, and in contempt of a dignified moderation.

Mr. M. said he had disapproved the direction given to most of the debate by those with whom he usually acted. He had all along felt that Senators exposed themselves to the suspicion of feeling a sense of weakness in their position, when they suffered themselves to be arraigned here by a Senator, and they seriously and gravely set about defending themselves against the charge. As to his vote upon the three million supply, it was right. His first impression, strong as it was, had been strengthened by mature reflection and subsequent developments. Upon that vote of the Senate depended the uniform usage of Congress, the integrity of the Constitution, and the peace of the country. He would not, therefore, submit to be arraigned either by Senators here, or by the other House, or, strange as it might sound to willing ears, by the Executive itself. He would submit to arraignment by no power under Heaven, save that constituent body in North Carolina to which he always felt amenable, and to which he owed and cherished all duty and respect. Nor would he undertake the disagreeing task of delineating the history of the three million supply, its rise, progress, and fall; its career was brief and eventful, conceived in prodigacy, nurtured by empiricism, and brought to its death by sinister designs and crooked policy. The fabled god that devoured his offspring was not more cruel than the projectors of this outrage upon the Constitution, the treasury, the pacific relations, and the patience of a betrayed and insulted people. Who doubts that this fruit of intrigue was crushed by the hand of its parent?

Mr. M. said he should take his stand upon higher ground. There was no necessity for any extraordinary appropriation. To the close of the last session there had not been a word or movement, on the part of France, indicating hostile purpose; nor has there been, to the present moment. Not a man, woman or child in the United States apprehended war at that time, and least of all, that the first hostile demonstration would be made on the part of France. It is true that at the opening of Congress in December, 1834, the President had thrown a

fire-ball into the Halls of Congress. The question of reprisals upon French commerce was distinctly submitted to Congress. Every one of the least intelligence knows that reprisals by one Power upon the commerce of another, supposing them to be at all equal in the resources of defence and annoyance, are as easily connected with war, as is the shadow with the substance.

Did that message find an echo in either branch of Congress? Did its recommendations find favor with any party, either in or out of Congress? Did not the Senate, by a unanimous vote, resolve that no legislative measure, under the existing circumstances, was necessary? Was there a single individual in this body found pliant enough to flatter the peculiar views of the Executive by compromising the peace of the country?

Did not the other House, at the very close of the session, by unanimous vote, abstain from any specific recommendation indicating the slightest apprehension of collision? Above all, did the Executive itself, high strung as it was, indicate to Congress any new cause of apprehension, or new development, requiring extraordinary appropriations for defence and protection? If any such new cause existed, was it not the bounden duty of the Executive, charged as he is by the Constitution with the care of our foreign relations, to make it known officially to Congress? Will Senators press upon us a state of the question that must necessarily imply a defect of sagacity in the Executive, or a plain dereliction of duty? Such is the inevitable consequence. For, if cause for extraordinary defences existed, the Executive either knew, or ought to have known it. If he did know it, and failed to apprise Congress of it, it was a flagrant dereliction of duty. If he did not know it, he was discreditably deficient in vigilance, sagacity, and forecast. The truth is, no such cause existed, nor is there the least ground for imputing to the President, in this respect, either dereliction of duty or deficiency in sagacity.

Whence came the recommendation for the supply of the three millions, and for what purpose did it come? It did not come from the Executive; it did not come from any head of department; nor did it come reinforced by the deliberative judgment of any committee. It came under cover of the darkness of the last night of the session, upon the individual responsibility of a member of another body (Mr. Cambreleng). As it was sprung upon us under the cover of night, so its mysterious end is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. Half of the whole truth has not been told; sir, it will never be told. And, sir, what sort of authority is this, upon which the Senate is required to vote this appropriation? To vote a supply extraordinary in amount, unconstitutional in its form, in the absence of estimates, and, above all, in the entire absence of the least necessity, either shown or alleged, upon any exhibition of fact? This sort of authority may be deemed sufficient by the "faithful." To me it comes with no title to respect, and scarcely with claim to a decent forbearance. And for what purpose did it come? Was it to soothe the roused sensibilities of the Executive? Was it designed as balm for feelings wounded and pride chased by discomfiture? Was it intended as an equivalent for the refusal of reprisals? As a delicate mode of flattery, by the strong expression of unlimited confidence, implied in the unconditional surrender of the purse, the sword, and the Constitution? Did it look incidentally to the providing of a contingent fund for the summer campaign? To enlist recruits, and to carry the ballot-boxes by fraud or force? And did it not look to the embarrassing of an eminent Senator on this floor (Mr. White), "the Cato of East Tennessee?" Sir, the position of this pure and distinguished Senator may well arouse the fears, excite the hatred, and put in motion all the puppets, "Puneh, the Devil, and all of them," that play in this great Presidential game. Well may intrigue be afoot, and under the cover of night. It never had more motive and greater necessity to make a desperate push. The watch-fires are kindling on every hill, from the Potomac to the Bay. The White banner is unfurled; countless crowds are thronging to that standard. The Albany banner yet waves its motley folds over the "disciplined and the faithful." But even discipline begins to quail before superior numbers. That banner begins to bow, and will yet be dragged in the mire, if the Hero of New Orleans come not to the rescue. Yes, sir, to the rescue. To turn his back upon the honest the steadfast friend of forty years; a friend through good and through evil report; the same firm, fast friend in the log cabin of the wilderness as in the marble walls of a palace; a friend too proud and too pure to stoop to sycophancy, too honest to flatter, and too

straightforward for the crooked ways of modern policy. To turn his back upon this friend, and for whom? For one that the hero took to his bosom as of yesterday. One who spurned him in the hour of tribulation; who would have trod up on him in his first painful struggles for power, but who has a quick eye for the rising sun, and the smooth tongue of flattery for the ear of power. If such injustice shall be found in the heart of man, I feel a strong assurance that it will find no echo in the bosoms of a just and generous people. Give us but an open field, a fair contest, the people's money locked in the strong box, and the hands of power off, and we promise to give a good account of the intrigues on the south of the Potomac. We shall drive them out. They will find no foothold in Maryland, in Delaware, and, least of all, in the great and glorious "Key-stone State." They may be safe in the North, and strongholds of the Empire state, but the Presidency and the country will be safe from the contamination of their systems, and the blight of their tortuous and sinister policy. But to return. Suppose the three millions had been granted, does any one doubt that we would have been in war? By the phrasology of the grant, both the means and the implied discretion would have been placed in the hands of the President.

The French Chambers had taken a false position. The French Government had solemnly stipulated the payment of the twenty-five millions of francs. It had not complied; the delay had produced irritation; the message of 1834 had taken very strong ground; strong expressions were used. The French Government took offence—recalled its minister here—offered passports to ours at that court. The law for complying with the stipulations of the treaty was passed, with a condition annexed not found in the treaty, nor contemplated by it; with a condition that satisfactory explanation of the President's message should be given before the payment should be made. All this was clearly wrong. The position is utterly untenable. I, for one (said Mr. M.) as a humble American citizen, protest against all or any explanations, in any manner or form whatsoever. If France has any ground of complaint, let her first perform her own duty, pay the money solemnly stipulated by treaty, and then, and not till then, demand reparation for any injury, real or imaginary, to the French Government and people.

In that event, I doubt not that the justice and magnanimity of this government will do every thing compatible with its honor to remove heart-burnings and ill-will. In that event, we may well do it, without seeming to be stimulated by low and mercenary considerations. Looking to the actual position which France assumed, suppose the three million supply had been granted, accompanied with unrestrained discretion, what would have been the consequence? Is not the probability strong, nay, is it not almost certain, that measures would have been adopted that would have brought war? Look to the history of this matter. On the 11th September last, the Due de Broglie caused to be laid before the Executive of this country a paper drawn with signal ability and fairness, and obviously designed as a pacific overture to this Government, and seeking the means of escape from a false position. What was the reception given it? High, cold, and haughty—Breathing any thing but the calm and conciliatory spirit of that overture. In three days afterwards, on the 14th, this Government sent peremptory instructions to our *charge des affaires* at Paris to leave that Government forthwith, in case the money should not be paid: an order hastily, and in my judgment, rashly given—cutting off every channel of communication between the two Governments. Sir, if the three millions, with the implied discretion contained in the proposition for the grant, had been at the disposition of the Executive, might we not have looked for measures as strong as those recommended at the previous session? And would not those measures have brought war? Sir, what have been the conduct and tone of Senators in the confidence of the Administration during this session?

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) has brought forward resolutions looking not only to the thirty millions now in the Treasury, but to the expenditure of all accruing surpluses in future years, for the fortification and the arming of our Atlantic frontier; contemplating a gigantic scheme, hitherto not dreamed of, and the expenditure of countless millions for defence alone, as if, in this enlightened age, war were the only object and purpose of mankind. The teeming abundance of the times, instead of seeking investment in those great lines of internal communication; instead of giving strength, wealth, happiness, and ornament to the finest country under the sun, and impulse to the spirit of enter-

prise; in a word, instead of being distributed among the States for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening all the permanent interests and ties of social life—this abundance is to be poured out upon the maritime frontier, in the construction of fortifications, to frown defiance towards all the world. A scheme worthy of the spirit of the iron age! And these resolutions are accompanied with a speech mild, subdued, and guarded in language, but breathing the furious war spirit of Mars himself. Then follows the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy.) It is difficult to determine whether he means to whip up, and keep in the front ranks of the Administration, where they may. We learn the fact, portentously announced, that he is not willing "that things shall remain exactly as they are." In the midst of this discussion, which seems well pitched to bring the public mind up to the war point, there comes the offer of mediation by the Government of Great Britain. Never has so beautiful a scheme of operations been so completely marred by an unlucky incident. War, war, horrid war, engrossed every mind, and employed every tongue. A French war was preferred, if we could have the good luck to get it. At all events, we must have a war. If not a French war, the Treasury has charms—war upon that, as well as the Senate, may afford an amusing interlude in these dull piping times of peace? This magnanimous offer of mediation on the part of Great Britain, it is understood, has been accepted by this Government; indeed, it could not be refused. In this state of things, when every consideration of delicacy, in connexion with our own honor, as well as the feelings of the mediator, would seem to dictate, if not profound silence, yet entire abstinence from every topic of irritation or offensive allusion, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) rises in his place, and delivers the most elaborated and high-toned war speech that has been heard in the Capitol since 1812. He charges, directly and unequivocally, dishonorable equivocation and bad faith upon the French Government, in terms the harshest and most offensive. He goes a bow shot beyond any thing said by the Executive.

Sir, I regard the Senator's speech as an exposition of the views and feelings of the Executive. We perfectly understand the division of labor among the leaders of the party in power. Is it not known that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) has in charge "the better currency," the bank rags, the yellow jackets, and the public domain? The Senator has strangled the monster, more fearful than the fabled Lernaean hydra, or, rather, he has cut off his head; but I fear he has not skilfully cauterized the wound. The monster seems to be in a process of resuscitation, as well as hundreds of other lesser but pernicious monsters that seem to have sprung from its blood, sprinkled by the Hercules in the struggle for its decapitation.

I trust the Senator will inform us, at some early day, how the experiment of suppressing bank rags, and increasing the circulation of the gold currency, succeeds. I suppose the proportion of paper money to the precious metals in circulation does not now exceed more than three or four times that which existed half a dozen years ago. In other words, I suppose the fictitious capital is not more than three or four times greater in reference to the actual capital than it was six or seven years ago. As this is an interesting experiment under the scientific superintendence of the Senator, I trust he will give us such lights from time to time as his leisure and convenience may allow. I frankly confess that I am not without fear that the rapid and unexampled augmentation of fictitious banking capital portends throes and convulsions that may shake the prosperity of this country with the force and destructive ness of an earthquake.

Do we not likewise understand that the Senator from New York (Mr. Wright) has in charge all the peculiar and especial interests of the Albany Regency throughout the Union? And have we not all admired the skill and dexterity with which he manages and controls this intricate and complicated machinery?

And who does not know that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) has charge of our foreign relations? His wary sagacity and polished diplomacy, deriving strength and ornament, as they do, from a long experience, indicate the wisdom and fitness of the choice. Therefore, upon this subject, I take his speech as indicating truly the tone and temper of the Executive. I have alluded to the harshness and offensiveness of the manner and words of that speech, as well as to the time and the circumstances under which it was delivered. Sir, Mark Anthony's speech over the dead body of

Cesar was a perfect failure compared with that of the Senator. But Mark Anthony was a plain, blunt man, whereas the Senator is an eloquent and practised diplomatist. He shows us the wounds of our sweet country's bleeding honor, "poor, poor, dumb mouths," and, surpassing the skill of Anthony, he "puts a tongue in every wound," which aforesaid tongue discourses so eloquently that they "move the very stones to mutiny;" and my friend from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) may look out for his "ploughshares," lest they be converted, in the twinkling of an eye, into Bowie knives and the most approved hairtriggers; and, strange to tell, all this display of eloquence and exhibition of elaborate skill in fixing perfidy upon the French Government at the very instant that our Government is accepting, yes, accepting, the offered mediation of the British Government. Does the Senator suppose that when his speech shall assume a neat pamphlet form, if the President, abusing himself with his franking privilege, as is his wont, should perchance frank a copy to his brother Louis Philippe, it would materially contribute to the success of the mediation? Does the Senator desire war, or does he desire peace? If the latter, I can perceive no reason for keeping up this show of war, unless it be to subject the surplus revenue to a sort of legislative plunder. Sir, war is resolved on, if war can be had under circumstances to carry with it the patriotic feeling and the enthusiasm of the country. But war will not come. Thank God! war cannot now come. I have never felt a stronger reliance than at this instant, that an overruling and favoring Providence which has made this great country what it is, will continue to it prosperity and greatness.

I think I see, in the divided and peculiar interests of the great sections of the dominant party, the surest guarantee of continued peace. I think I see, what I never expected to see, much good, yes, the blessings of continued peace, likely to come from the peculiar and selfish interests of the worst party that has ever threatened the prosperity of this country with its terrible scourge. Such are the glorious ends that a gracious and benign Providence works out by the employment of the meanest and basest instruments. But, sir, if, contrary to all my anticipations, war shall come, whatever may be my opinions of the wretched bungling or wicked designs of its authors, I shall regard it as no longer a party matter, but as a great national question, demanding the zealous co-operation and the best energies of every American citizen. I shall feel it my duty, in whatever position I may stand, to lend my humble aid to the concentration of all the resources of the country to give vigor to the public arm, and to sustain, gloriously sustain the national character.

But, sir, I repeat, that war will not come. The heads of the dominant party have peculiar and divided interests, and consequently divided and conflicting counsels. The present head of the Government, high-toned, bold, daring, impatient, and eminently warlike, is obviously bent upon bringing France to his feet, or trying the hazards of war. His peculiar views are reinforced and sustained by a numerous, powerful, and, for the most part, interested corps. Almost the entire official corps, the anxious expectants of place, and the greedy seekers of jobs and contracts, will be found on the side of the strongest executive measures. War necessarily brings with it vast accessions of power to the Executive branch of the Government—vast accessions of officers and employees to the public service, and a corresponding increase in the expenditure of public money. Besides, the Army and the Navy, opposite in every thing to the mercenary tribe to which I have alluded, will be found on the side of war. Their high military spirit, their love of enterprise, their aversion to the "rankers of a calm world," and their devotion to glory, naturally and necessarily place them on the side of war. "Tis their vocation."

"The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war" have charms for the soldier not to be resisted. We are upon the eve of a Presidential election. The present head of the Government, brave, bold and warlike, is yet surrounded with the halo of glory won in many a stricken field. I have not heard that the nominee for the succession is particularly distinguished either for military spirit or military achievement. Though he reposes under the shade of the laurels that have sprung upon the glorious field of New Orleans, yet I have not learned that he has moistened their roots with either his sweat or his blood.

Suppose war should come, and the Presidential election at hand—who would be placed at the helm of the vessel of state, that she might ride out, in safety, the storm and the breakers ahead?

Sir, the lion is a noble animal; the tiger is a powerful and fearful one; the fox is cunning, stealthy, subtle, remarkable for his doublings, and nimble dexterities. The lion is lord of the woodland domain, in peace as well as in war. If, perchance, an alliance should be formed between the lion and the fox, (most unnatural one,) or between the tiger and the fox, (less so,) it is easy to perceive that, in time of peace, the subtle reynard might rob half the tenants of the wood, and, by nimbleness of foot and dexterity in doubling, reach, without harm, his noble ally, lay his spoils at his feet, and crouch down at his paws for security and protection. But if the woodland domain should be awakened by the notes of war, and the tenants of the wood should prepare for the conflict, while the lordly lion would shake the dew-drops from his mane, and rouse to maintain his ancient supremacy, the cunning little fox would hie him away to the cleft of some rock from which he might securely scan the dangers and devastation of the battle-field.

Who would be best qualified to lead on in a war with France? The French are known to be a gallant, warlike, and powerful nation. Our national pride, national honor, and national safety, would all be staked upon the issue. Might not the people, by universal acclamation, call to the head of the Government the bravest, the ablest, and most warlike? Would any eye be turned in the hour of danger upon the buzzing favourites "in the perfumed chambers of the great?" Would not a common sense of danger beget common counsels, looking to energy and ability as the best hope for honor and safety? It is in the contemplation of this state of things—the of imminent dangers to the designated succession in the event of war, that I see, or think I see, the safest guarantee for the continuance of peace.

If all apprehensions of the French war shall pass from men's minds, yet a war of subjugation will be waged upon the Senate. The dangers of this war, though less exigent, are but little less interesting to the calm and philosophical observer of the tendency of political events.

Sir, the issue of this great struggle is to determine the fearful question whether this Government shall retain its ancient federative character, such as the framers of the Constitution designed it to be, or whether it shall be engulfed in the great maelstrom of consolidation. It is to determine whether the sovereignty of the States is a mere ideal, visionary conception, or whether it is a sensible practical barrier against the excessive action of irregular power. In a word, it will determine the question of ascendancy between well-regulated liberty, and the irregular excess of irresponsible power. Sir, this contest is most unequal, whether viewed with reference to the characters of the parties to it, or with reference to their resources for defence, annoyance, or open assault.

The Executive is essentially active, the Senate necessarily passive. The Executive in its very unity, possesses a great element of strength. As an emanation from the popular will, it possesses great power, because of its popularity. The power of nomination and appointment, and, yet more, the power of removal from office, secures support, and subdues the spirit of resistance. It has the expenditure of vast amounts of public money in various forms; the power of creating hope and expectation in the distribution of patronage, and the distribution of money to favorite contractors. The gliter of office, rank, and station may be held up to tempt the ambitious, and the gliter of gold to tempt the mercenary. These great and various powers, centered in a single individual, upheld and controlled by a single will, capable of indefinite expansion and the minutest contraction, like the proboscis of an elephant, now tearing up an oak by the roots, and now picking up a pin; now overawing and subjugating a State Legislature, and now subsidizing a political hack, and all the reinforced and sustained by an upstartful press, acting in perfect concert, re-echoing the word of command from the centre upon every hill and in every vale of this great Confederacy; against the shafts of which a long life of virtue and integrity afford no protection; but the higher and more shining the merit, the more certainly will the poisoned arrow be sped—against all this fearful array of power and influence, how can an individual, or how can the Senate expect to escape the doom already denounced against them?

The Senate, on the contrary, is merely passive; it has no patronage or gold to tempt the ambitious or mercenary. It possesses none but mere conservative powers. It is a mere staying power—a sort of political break water, resisting on the one side the excessive ebullitions of Executive ambition, and the waves of a temporary popular fury on the other. The individual Senators have no sympathy or encouragement beyond the limits of their respective States, nor indeed, there, unless they be pliant or unless, what can hardly be expected, the virtue and intelligence of the people shall be able to resist this formidable array of Executive power and influence.

In its legislative character, it is merely co-ordinate with the other branch of Congress. In its executive capacity, it must either follow the lead of the Executive, or be driven to the exercise of odious and unpopular powers. In the former

case it derives no strength, as there is no ascription of merit; in the latter, it has to encounter the denunciation of the Executive, its retainer, and disappointed nominees. Is it not wonderful that, in this unequal contest, the Senate, planting itself upon the ramparts of the Constitution, has been able to hold out so long against an Executive as remarkable for his popularity as for the fury of his assaults? Right or wrong, does it not afford consoling evidence of individual firmness and integrity? Does it not manifest on the part of Senators a confidence in the ultimate right judgment of the people, as refreshing to our hopes as it is complimentary to the intelligence, good sense, and virtue of our countrymen?

The events of another year, though they may not solve, yet they may throw much light upon this interesting problem. If the Senate shall be permanently broken, either by direct action upon it, or indirectly through the State Legislatures, one of the great safeguards of liberty will have fallen. The direct and inevitable tendency will be to the centralization of all political power.

If there be any truth in political science, perfectly clear it is that centralized power is but another name for despotic power. Precisely in proportion as you centralize, in the same proportion do you approach absolute power. Power begets power, and a tendency to centralization, in the long run, will reach that point.

To render power innocuous, it must be broken up into fragments, and such a distribution made of it, that, without the power of one department to control another, it may yet check and stay its action. To stand still is safe. To move onward with the concurrence of all the parts, is accomplishing the highest object of Government. But for one department to be endowed with the strength of silencing or dragging on all the others, *per fas et nefas*, willing or unwilling, is to consummate the highest disasters of an irregular and despotic Government. Opposing powers in politics are not unlike opposing powers in physics. By delicate adjustment, perfect harmony may be preserved, and a just equilibrium attained. If, in the distribution of power, all the great interests that Government is designed to protect shall be fairly represented, and that representation shall be so adjusted, upon organic principles, that no interest can act on another without the concurrence of a majority representing each and every interest, it would present a scheme corresponding to our highest conceptions of a just and wise Government. The history of all ages and of all Governments shows that where power has been centralized, there it has been absolute; and that liberty, in every country, has borne a direct proportion to the equality and skill with which opposing though not confounding powers have been distributed. The characteristic difference between the Governments of Asia and Europe is, that, in the former, there is a centralization of power, and, of course, the dead level of despotism; in the latter, power is more or less distributed, and, of course, more or less liberty in exact correspondence. I will not pursue this subject, though examples drawn from history might shed a flood of light on these propositions.

Sir, the French war disposed of, and the Senate put out of the way, or rather the "factions majority" got rid of, the dominant party will at length reach the great immediate object of all their efforts; I mean, the surplus revenue, the thirty millions on hand, and the rapidly accruing revenues of the country. All the rest, sir, are mere pretexts, decoys for gulls. That stubborn majority in the Senate out of the way, a show of war must yet be kept up to decoy the People, through their feelings of patriotism, to yield assent to the lavish and profligate squandering of thirty millions; yes, and all the future accruing surpluses, until thirty millions shall be more than three times told, upon jobbers, contractors, favorites, and all the vampires belonging to the set, under the guise of warlike preparations, as if war were the sole business of life.

I know gentlemen are not so shallow as to attach so much importance to these gigantic schemes of national defence as their speeches might seem to indicate. The surplus revenue must be seized upon. Sir, it will be so comfortable; it will not only serve to fill their pockets, but will give a prodigious activity to all the engineering operations in the making of their President. Sir, it is vain to speak of the intelligence and virtue of the People being able to resist the power of a party backed by thirty millions in money, and an amount not much less in the shape of the public domain. I know (said Mr. M.) that there are States, and people in some of the States, that scarcely feel the influence. But at other points of the line of battle, where a decisive impression is necessary to be made, it can and will be made. The Government is too rich. It must be made poor, before it can be made economical and pure. As you increase the surplus means of the Government, you multiply the schemers, projectors, and sturdy beggars, who will fall upon devices that will infallibly reach and squander the money.

Sir, we stand in a new position, one wholly unknown, until now, in modern history. We have all the symptoms of a highly diseased plethora. We have too much money. Economy is rapidly

giving place to a wasteful profligacy. Chimerical projects are set on foot merely to get the money expended. Public men are losing all sense of the responsibility that habits of rigid economy enforce.

Sir, when I first came to Congress, if a proposition had been introduced requiring the expenditure of thirty millions in military defences, it would have been laughed to scorn. The mover would have been derided as the merest moonstruck visionary. All would have seen then, as they must now, that it is impossible to lay out that amount annually; that the requisite skill and the necessary labor cannot be procured, if you had the power of Midas to convert the mountains into solid gold. Yet, this is the natural downward course. Twelve years ago, the annual expenses of Government were under ten millions. Under this Administration, which came into power with such lavish promises of economy, and pledges to bring back the Government to the cheapness, simplicity, and purity of its earlier and better days, the expenditure has increased to a sum largely above twenty millions, and in the future we may expect to see those expenses exceed thirty millions a year. Is there the slightest necessity for this increase? None at all. Is it possible that the people would tolerate this state of things, if they were fully awakened to it? Sir, the Treasury must be reduced, or this Government will sink into profligacy, and its retainers into utter corruption. But I tell you, sir, and I tell the people from my place here, that this Administration and its active corps of supporters will not suffer this money to be taken out of their hands. I tell the people that the Administration will not suffer the States and the people to take and enjoy their own money. I tell the people that every plan of equal distribution of this surplus treasure, that is not now needed, that is lying idle to be scrambled for, will be resisted to the death by the Administration and its loyal supporters. I tell them that the friends of the Administration will vote for the most extravagant appropriations, exceeding far, very far, in amount, the most extravagant ever known heretofore, with the view of reducing this surplus as much as possible, and for the purpose of expending it among its retainers and employees, for works but little needed, if at all. I say to the people, mark this prediction, and see if it shall not be verified to the letter. I tell them that these unappropriated surpluses are of no use to any one, except to the deposite banks; and that to them they serve as precisely so much capital, upon which they trade and make profit exactly as if they were their own. I tell the people that in this way the Administration holds a power over thirty or forty banks in the different states, that, if exerted, would crush three fourths of the number in a day. I tell them that a power of life and death over thirty or forty banks is a power over the directors, stockholders, and their debtors, to a greater or less degree. It is a power, to a great extent, over the money concerns of the country, and over thousands and tens of thousands of our people. I ask the people whether this power (abused or not, or to be abused or not) is not too great and dangerous a power to be lodged in the hands of any man? I ask the people whether these privileged corporations are better entitled to have the use of the public money and to make profit out of it, as if it were their own, than the States and the people of the States, by the sweat of whose brows it was earned?

And yet the banks will keep it. The

States and the people will not be per-

mitted to have it equally distributed during this Administration. Sir, it is not in the nature or temper of power to surrender any of its advantages. If this money were given up, there might not any longer be inducement for thousands and tens of thousands of those now engaged in the work, to continue their efforts to appoint the successor, to make the Baltimore nomine the next President.

If the Land bill were permitted to pass, this money would be handed over to the States, for the use of the people of the States. More than nine hundred thousand dollars would immediately go to my own State. In internal improvement, education, railroads, and the many other beneficial forms in which it might be applied, it would give a prodigious impulse to the wealth, prosperity, and happiness of the people of that State. Really it seems that this surplus and useless public

money had as well go to the use of the

people of the States, to make them pros-

perous and happy, as to go to the use of the

banks to build up overgrown fortunes for the stockholders. But our venerable

President thinks otherwise; and what Se-

nator shall dare to call himself the friend

of the President, if he dare to think dif-

ferently?

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) distinctly says that this gigantic scheme of national defence was introduced expressly to defeat the Land bill, and to prevent an equal distribution of the surplus among the States. I thank him for this frank and manly avowal. We now understand each other. These, then, are competing propositions. Let us calmly examine the merits of each. I beg the people to examine them calmly, fairly, and dispassionately.

It is a great and interesting question.

It must give rise to a keen and protracted contest. The parties on either side are

strong and powerful. The States and the people, on one side, against the General Government, and its officeholders, friends, and retainers, on the other. These are the parties. I take my stand on the side of the States and the people. I take it with confidence, though with certain knowledge that all our present efforts will be defeated. I rejoice to see every party compelled to take position. I am gratified to see gentlemen come up to the mark. There is no middle ground. They must fall into the ranks on the side of the States and the people, or they must fall into the ranks of this Government and its official corps. Take position, gentlemen. Let the people see where you are. I know your strength. I know that present defeat is our lot. We know that our cause is good, and, with the blessing of God, we shall be ready to do battle for it, from day to day, from year to year; yes, sir, firmly and fearlessly will we do battle for it, for the term of the longest of the Punic wars. The people will look on; they will investigate its merits; they will come to our aid; they will achieve the victory over power and its friends and myrmidons, even in their entrenchments. Sir, I know we are beaten for the present. The official corps and its adherents have a tower of strength in the President and his veto. They will keep the money for a while. The President's influence may screen and sustain them yet a little longer. Beware of the hour when that protection shall be withdrawn. Beware of the vengeance of an abused people. You may bind poppies, mingled with the laurel of New Orleans, yet a little longer round the brows of the people. But beware: the day of retribution will surely come. Many of us may, and most probably will, sink under the hoof of power. "The blood of the martyr is the seed of the church." There will be those to follow who will drive the spoiler from his prey.

I have said the States and the people are on one side. Is it not so? Have not the most decisive expressions of popular opinion been heard, in the old States, in favor of the Land bill? Have not the Legislatures that were free from party control expressed their approbation strongly? Do they not know that the public debt is paid? Do they not know that the money here is not needed, and cannot be properly used? Do they not know that this superabundance destroys responsibility, begets extravagance, and must end in profligacy and corruption? Do they not know that it is in this form only that they can hope to be sharers in this rich and princely public domain? Do they not know that an equal distribution would awaken enterprise, stimulate industry, and enrich and embellish the States? And is it wonderful that the people every where desire the measure? But not so the politicians. To them it is wormwood and gall. To the great "spoils party" it brings terror and alarm. To all others it brings healing on its wings, unless perchance, to a very few whose pride of opinion may be startled, or to some from the new States, who may hope by other modes to derive yet greater benefits from the public lands than this measure promises. If the measure shall pass, I know it will be vetoed. That is a great evil, and yet I would not abrogate, modify, or touch the veto power. I regard the veto as one of the contrivances in our system to break the shock of consolidated power; a wise contrivance to break sudden excesses in legislative action. In the long run, it must yield to the settled, dispassionate judgment of the country. In this case, I venture to predict that result. But the "spoils party"—how is it that this party can have an interest distinct and separate from the communities through which it is distributed?

They are in the nature of a great mil-

itary encampment in the midst of a

peaceful community, living upon the

fruits of honest men's labor, feared, ha-

ted, and yet for the most part implicitly

obeyed. Their discipline is exact, and

their strategy masterly. They occupy

every important post throughout the Uni-

on. They are moved by a single will.

An impulse at the centre is felt through-

out the extremities. They are endowed

with a sort of political ubiquity. A sin-

gle word of command from head-quar-

ters brings upon foot more than a hundred

thousand office-holders, and expectants

to break sudden excesses in legislative

action. In the long run, it must yield

to the settled, dispassionate judgment of

the country. In this case, I venture to

predict that result. But the "spoils party."

This great scheme of civil and political

liberty of ours, the admiration and won-

der of the age, is yet but an experiment:

an experiment thus far illustrating, and

gloriously illustrating, the truth of the

great principle upon which our whole

system rests—that man is capable of self-

government. This system, in its suc-

cessful and splendid career, is year by

year developing new symptoms, new

tendencies, and unforeseen phenomena;

some portending evil, others full of re-

freshing promise and encouragement.

In the early and purer times of the

Republic, parties were divided upon great

principles, growing out of the workings

of the system itself. With equal zeal

and patriotism, they took essentially dif-

ferent views of the tendencies of the sys-

tem. This diversity of opinion was

found in every State, connected with no

local interest or sectional bias, but hav-

ing reference solely to great questions, on

which each and every part of the body

politic had an equal interest.

These parties were the best and purest

that have sprung up in our history. Time

alone could settle the great questions be-

tween them. In the progress of events,

these parties took a tinge from sectional

prejudice and local interest, and were ex-

posed to other, occasional disturbances

and defections, from strong and heady

personal ambition. In the fulness of time, in

more than half the States, they lost al-

most every thing but their names, and

were merged in the great and fearful vortex

of sectional interest, and sectional inter-

est alone, except so far as personal



From the Poughkeepsie Telegraph.

### WOULD YOU BE HAPPY?

Would you be happy? Yes I know  
This prize is sought by all below:  
Yet few, alas! the prize obtain,  
For most who seek it seek in vain!

Would you be happy? Shut the way  
Of sinful pleasures—shun the gay  
But trifling sports which lure to woe  
The souls that in their footstep go.

Would you be happy? Let your mind  
Be well improved—your taste refined—  
Your friends be few, but wise and good—  
Your books well read, well understood.

Would you be happy? You must love  
And serve the God who reigns above;  
Repent of sin—in Christ believe—  
And you shall happiness receive.

Yes, you'll be happy—happy here,  
How dark so'er the world appear—  
Happy in life—and with the best,  
Thrice happy you in death shall rest.

M.C.—

### CAPTAIN KIDD.

The notorious Capt. Kidd, on returning from an inland exploring expedition one cold afternoon in December, accidentally came upon the body of a man who had been frozen to death in the forest. As he felt little interest in the coming and goings of mortality, any farther than his own existence and that of his associate outlaws was concerned, he would probably have passed the corpse of the unfortunate man with a single punch of his staff, had not a new pair of pegged cow-hide boots which graced the legs of the defunct, presented an enviable superiority when contrasted with his own ragged and soleless brogans. Upon this hint he pulled—but the boots clung to their owner's legs with such an affectionate grasp that he was unable to start them. After taking breath he tried them again, toe and heel, first one and then the other; at length, tired of practising the boot jack with so little success, he had nearly got the better of his covetous thought, when he hit upon the happy expedient of taking boots, legs and all, and throwing them out at his leisure. At it he went, slashing away right and left, a very expeditious if not a skilful surgeon, making the knife with which he usually cut his food do glorious service on the legs of the frozen unknown; a few moments made a sad cripple of the carcass, and stowing away the prizes in his empty provision bag, Kidd began to leg it seawards at a rapid pace.

In spite of all his speed, however, he was brought some eight or ten miles from the place where he expected to meet his associates. Being in no great haste to reach his destination, he concluded to halt for the night at a little collection of houses at the edge of the forest, and push on again at the dawn of day. He rapped at the door of the nearest habitation, and was welcomed with a hearty "Walk in." And in he went. A little old woman, done up in a black bombazine gown and an enormous cotton frizzel cap, with a dirty looking yellow ribbon dangling around it,

"Look round a clam."

and a queer looking old man, arrayed in a snuff-coloured bob-tail coat, and a pair of aged hunting breeches, sat crouching over a fire of sappy sizzling wood, in the opposite corner of a spacious fireplace. On the hearth a huge Newfoundland dog and a couple of very decent sized cats, lay stretched at full length, enjoying a most delightful snooze. Kidd threw down his provision bag in one corner of the room, and hauled a chair into the domestic circle round the fire. After taking a "cold bite," and discussing matters and things for an hour or two over a mug of cider and a noggin of apples, old Contentment and his wife crawled off to bed in an adjoining room, and left the Captain to take his repose on a heap of rugs and skins beside the fire—the best extra lodgings the house afforded. Accordingly he extended his frame on the humble pallet, and soon fell into a gentle doze.

He dreamed—and the events of the previous day shaped the images that disturbed his mind. He imagined he was chased by more than a hundred human legs with new boots on, and whenever he sought shelter from those bodiless enemies, he found himself surrounded by as many men nobbling about on stumps of legs! At length he imagined himself fairly cornered, the legs began to kick him, and the men beat him with their fists. In his exertions to release himself from his imaginary enemies, he extended his right arm with great force, and knocked a light stand which stood near, half way across the room.

"What's the matter there, Mister?" cried old Contentment in the bed room.

"B-u-h! b-u-h!" growled the dog in the sink room—and all was still again.

Dreaming of legs and boots, thought Kidd, now wide awake, "puts me in mind of a very nice set that I saw a chap lugging home yesterday in a bag—froze some to be sure—but warm water will

fetch them to rights; by the way I guess I'll see what effect the fire will have on 'em."

With this reflection, he rose from his couch as carefully as possible, and placing his new boots near the fire, crept back to his nest, and slept like a stage horse till morning.

When he awoke it was broad daylight, much later than he intended to have remained in the village. He was off, quicker than ever a fly left a mustard pot, without saying a word to his host. In his hurry he forgot his baggage, and neglected to close doors and windows after him. The savoury smell of the thawing legs soon invited the great burly house dog and his feline associates into the kitchen, and after some preliminary sniffs and sly glances at each other, they made a regular attack on these agreeable delicacies, sparing neither boot nor bone in their eagerness to get a proper share. When the folks rose, the floor was covered with bones and daubed with blood; one of the legs was most catawampusly chewed up, and the trio were making mince meat of the other amazingly fast.

"Oh! Lud!" screamed the lady, who was the first on the docket, "what upon earth is the matter?"

"What is it ails ye?" said the old man, half awake.

"Oh, mercy! mercy! the dog is eating up the traveller!—get out, Bone!"

The old man jumped out of bed as if touched with a red hot iron. One look at the scene of carnage was sufficient. He darted through the room into the street in his night dress, bellowing something or other, he hardly knew what himself—and the sight of a man in such a predicament, at such a time, making such a tremendous racket, soon roused all the neighbors within half a mile, and collected a crowd of gaping auditors at the door of the house, to whom the story of the traveller's fate was related for the fifteenth time; and they retired, one after another, believing to a man that the hero of our tale had been eaten up by a

### FALSE FRIENDSHIP.

"My dear sir, you are heartily welcome to town," said a spruce dressed citizen, as he helped his friend to alight from the stage, "pray come home with me. I expect you will make my house your own while you stay in town; there is nothing in my power I will not do to make it agreeable to you. I have depended upon your company—my whole house is at your service."

This over acted complaisance made me suspect his sincerity, or that he had some sinister point in view; so, putting my ring on my finger, I followed him home.

"I am greatly obliged to you," said the country gentleman, as he sat down to the breakfast table; "the invitation you have given me is very acceptable; I have lost the estate I have been so long at law about, for want of sufficient evidence; and when I have paid the costs I shall not have more than two hundred pounds left, with which I mean to purchase an annuity; therefore I shall make your house my home till I can settle my affairs."

"It may be sometime before you can settle your business to your satisfaction," replied the citizen, his features contracting into cold civility, "and I expect a gentleman to take my first floor in about a week; I am very sorry I cannot accommodate you longer."

"My dear Mr. Woolet, cries the wife, hastily entering, "I am vastly glad to see you."

"Mr. Woolet has lost his law-suit, my dear," said the husband.

The smile of welcome was instantly changed into a look of amazement; she advanced to give him her hand; but on his attempting to salute her, she withdrew her cheek, exclaiming, "I am sorry for his disappointment;" and began to make the tea. He drank two dishes of tea, and then asked his friend to lend him two guineas. "He had it not in the house; trade was very precarious—he again mentioned his expected lodger, and recommended a mean room to his friend at half a crown per week, in an obscure lane in the city. O, self interest! how dost thou deaden every virtue, lead to hypocrisy and vice, and make us what we would be ashamed to own, mean, avaricious and unfriendly! Would I change the feeling heart for all the interested views this world affords? Oh, no! give me sensibility to feel another's woe, and then I shall feel as I ought my own happiness."

"It is vexatious," said Mr. Woolet, as he arose from breakfast, "that I cannot stay here, as I have no ready money to procure a lodger." No answer was made.

"Can't I have a room on your second floor, Mr. Savelle?" "Really sir,

they are all occupied."

"I do not know what to do; I must beg you to lend me half a guinea till next week."

"I cannot, upon my word, sir."

Mr. Woolet summoned up a look of expressive anger and contempt, and fixing his eyes on his false friend, cried "he

who can refuse half a guinea to my necessities, shall never share my prosperity."

Know, selfish man, I have gained my cause, and am at this moment master of two thousand pounds per annum;

Then turning from them he hastily left the house.

I stood for a moment to view their con-

fusion; they spoke not a word, but giving each other the keenest looks of reproof, separated in sullen silence.

### Invisible Rambler.

A singular scene was exhibited in the court before the church of Notre Dame, in Paris. A crowd was assembled, from which issued cries of distress, on seeing upon the summit of the tower two persons preparing to precipitate a woman upon the pavement. As well as the distance would allow a clear view of it, the malefactors were perceived gagging the sufferer to prevent her from crying out, and they had tied her hands behind her back. Shouts of "The Assassins!" resounded from the indignant crowd. The door of the keeper of the tower was assailed with knocking. There were shouts for the gendarmeries. A national guard came with his musket, with which he took aim at the murderers, but this had no effect. The poor woman fell; she struck against the capital of one of the columns and was dashed to pieces! To a sensation of horror which it would be difficult to describe, succeeded inextinguishable laughter. The unfortunate victim was nothing but a stuffed figure.

La Revue du Havre relates the following fact:—A husbandman in the neighborhood of Montivilliers found, six weeks ago, while laboring in his field, a vase of dirty metal, which he took for lead; after having rubbed it with wet earth, he carried it home with him, and on the following day he sold it to a strolling brazier for half a dozen pewter spoons.

thinking that he had made an excellent bargain, the brazier at the same time believing that he had purchased a copper vessel washed with silver. Finding from the form of the vase and its bulk, a difficulty in placing it in his scuttle, he beat it by repeated blows of the hammer, and then continued his route through Dieppe towards the north. Having arrived at Boulogne, he put up at an inn, hung up his baggage and began to make preparations for tinning the stewpans of the hotel which had been intrusted to his care. An Englishman present perceiving in the midst of this kitchen tackle the deformed vase, took it up in his hand, examined it with as much attention as surprise, and at length agreed to give the brazier the sum of five francs for it. Taking it upstairs with him, he recognized in the bargain which he had made an antique cup of pure silver, ornamented with figures in bas-relief, and of the most exquisite workmanship; the blows of the hammer had very slightly damaged it. He took his treasure to London, a goldsmith restored it to its original form, and a member of the British parliament, a great lover of antiquities, purchased it of the fortunate possessor for fifteen thousand francs.

### NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.

THAT at the last term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, letters of administration upon the estate of JOHN RIDER, deceased, were granted to the subscriber; all persons indebted to the said estate are requested to make immediate payment; and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

DAVID TINNIN, *Adm'r.*

C. C. TINNIN, *Ex'r.*

February 25. 07—

### House and Lot For Sale.

THE House and Lot on Queen street, belonging to Miss Mary W. Burke, is for sale. The House contains six rooms, and is very convenient for a small family, and good Kitchen, Smoke House, and Stables.

For terms apply to JAMES WEBB.

March 10. 10—

### Town Property For Sale.

The subscriber offers his lots in Hillsborough for sale. The situation is one of the most eligible in the place as a private residence. It contains six acres, has a spring on it, and a constant branch running through it; the House is a comfortable family residence, containing six rooms, with four fire places, with the usual Out House; a large Barn, with convenient and roomy Stables.

Also a Lot of near two acres on the opposite side of the street. This lot is well enclosed, has a framed House on it, 30 feet by 20, with a good brick chimney.

Also a Lot in the bend, containing 3½ acres, a house on it used as a Stable, with one large Stall and Feed Room.

This property will be sold on fair, say low terms, as the subscriber intends removing West, either for cash or credit.

ALLEN J. DAVIE.

February 25. 08—

### Dr. Norwood has removed his shop to the house formerly occupied by Mr. William Huntington as a dwelling house, two doors west of Mr. Stephen Moore's Store, where he may be found when not professionally engaged.

JANUARY 5. 02—

### NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.

TO the heirs and legatees of JOHN DUKE, deceased, that the subscriber is now ready to settle with them, on demand, and will not hereafter consider himself as liable for interest.

MOSES GUESS, *Adm'r.*

in right of his wife.

March 15. 10—p

### NOTICE.

THE subscribers having been qualified at the February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, as executors to the last will and testament of ROBERT TINNIN, deceased, hereby give notice to all persons indebted to said estate to make immediate payment; and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

H. C. JONES.

February 25. 07—

### CO-PARTNER WANTED.

THE business of conducting this paper has become so burdensome, that I cannot do it justice and do myself justice in other respects. I wish therefore, to take a partner into the Editorial department of the Watchman. I should regard a high degree of qualification as indispensable, for whether the present Editor possesses that or not, I am able to show incontrovertible proof that the establishment is in a high degree profitable, and every way improving.

I would prefer a gentleman of the bar, who would be willing to form a co-partnership in the law practice also. Letters (post paid) will be promptly answered, detailing the affairs of the office, (more than ought to be done in an advertisement) and giving my views of all the advantages of the proposed arrangement; a personal conference, however, would be necessary before closing such a contract.

H. C. JONES.

February 25. 09—

### NOTICE.

LETTERS of administration have been granted to me on the estate of POLLY JACKSON, at the February term of Orange County Court. Persons having claims are notified to present them.

E. F. STRUDWICK, *Adm'r.*

February 25. 08—

### STEAMBOAT FROM Petersburg to City Point.

THE public are respectfully informed that the New Steamboat EAGLE, Capt. Chase, has commenced running from this place to City Point, to meet the boats from and to Norfolk, and will leave in time to ensure a passage to or from that place. No fears need be apprehended, by delay, as the boat draws but two feet water, which will ensure a run at all times of tide.

PASSAGE \$1, for which apply on board, or to

P. RYAN, *Agent.*

At the Wharf. 08—3w

### FORTUNE'S HOME!!

88,000 for \$4!

### NORTH CAROLINA STATE LOTTERY,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

THE SALISBURY ACADEMY.

Fourth Class, for 1836.

To be drawn at MURFREESBOROUGH, on

Saturday, the 9th April.

ON THE POPULAR TERMINATING FIGURE SYSTEM

Stevenson & Points, Managers

Principal Prizes.

One prize of \$8,000—one of \$2,000—

one of \$800—ten of \$1,000—ten of \$500—twelve of \$300—be-

sides many of \$200, \$100,

\$50, &c. &c.

amounting in all to

180,000 Dollars!!

Whole Tickets, 4 dollars

Halves, 2 dollars

Quarters, 1 dollar

All prizes payable in CASH, forty days

after the drawing, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent.

\* \* \* Tickets for sale in the greatest variety

of numbers, at my Office, one door above the